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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2388

INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3377

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJ: CSCE: PUBLIC OPINION

REF: A. USNATO 3337; B. USNATO 3342; C. USNATO 3347

SUMMARY: THE SPC'S WORKING GROUP ON PUBLIC RELATIONS ASPECTS OF CSCE COMPLETED FIRST READING OF DANISH/FRG MERGER PAPER (REF A) JUNE 20. WORKING GROUP AGREED TO ATTEMPT TO COMPLETE MERGER PAPER IN TIME FOR PRESENTATION TO NAC ON JUNE 27. BELGIAN PAPER, REPORTED REF B, HAS BEEN LAID ASIDE IN FAVOR OF A CANADIAN TEXT WHICH WILL BE AVAILABLE SHORTLY AND WILL FORM ANNEX TO MERGER PAPER. ACTION: REQUEST GUIDANCE ON TEXT OF MERGER PAPER, AS MODIFIED BY CHANGES REPORTED BELOW, IF POSSIBLE IN TIME FOR NEXT WORKING GROUP MEETING, JUNE 24. WITHDRAW REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE ON BELGIAN PAPER (REF B). END SUMMARY.

1. MOST OF THE CHANGES AGREED DURING THE WORKING GROUP'S FIRST READING WERE OF AN EDITORIAL NATURE AND SUBSTANCE STILL BASICALLY AS REPORTED IN REF A. IS WILL ATTEMPT TO CIRCULATE CONFIDENTIAL

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FULL TEXT OF REVISED PAPER JUNE 23.

2. MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN MERGER PAPER ARE AS FOLLOWS:

(A) GENERAL GUIDANCE SECTION HAS NEW PARA 1.1, SUGGESTED BY

FRENCH DEL, WHICH MISSION TRANSLATES INFORMALLY AS FOLLOWS:

"THE CONFERENCE CAN BE CONSIDERED A SUCCESS BY ALL ITS PARTICIPANTS BY THE VERY FACT THAT IT WAS HELD AND THAT IT CONCLUDED WITH THE APPROVAL OF TEXTS WHICH WERE ACCEPTED BY THE 35 PARTICIPATING STATES.

"NO LESS IMPORTANT IS THE FACT THAT THESE TEXTS EXPRESS A COMMON DETERMINATION, I.E. THAT THE DESIRE FOR ENTENTE AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE MUST OVERCOME THE SPIRIT OF CONFRONTATION."

(B) PARA 2.2 NOW READS: "THE SOVIET UNION APPROACHED THE CSCE WITH THE MAIN AIM OF SECURING FORMAL RECOGNITION OF THE STATUS QUO IN EUROPE. WESTERN COUNTRIES, WHILE REAFFIRMING THAT THEY WILL EXCLUDE THE ILLEGAL USE OF FORCE, SOUGHT AND SUCCEEDED IN KEEPING OPEN THE POSSIBILITY FOR PEACEFUL CHANGES OF RELATIONSHIP". (REST OF PARA REMAINS AS BEFORE.)

(C) WORKING GROUP ACCEPTED A UK SUGGESTION FOR A NEW PARA 2.3 AS FOLLOWS: "THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF A DYNAMIC AND CONTINUOUS EVOLUTION TOWARDS GREATER EAST/WEST CO-OPERATION AND DETENTE DOES NOT IMPLY A DESIRE TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES. IT THUS DIFFERS FROM THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE, WHICH CALLS NOT FOR IDEOLOGICAL TOLERANCE, BUT FOR UNREMITTING IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WITH THE FINAL AIM OF OVERTHROWING THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

" THE WESTERN APPROACH AIMS AT LESSENING OBSTACLES TO INCREASED EAST/WEST CONTACTS AND STRESSES THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS, WHETHER SINGLY OR IN GROUPS, IN THIS PROCESS. THE RESULTS ACHIEVED AT CSCE IN THIS RESPECT APPLY TO ALL PARTICIPANTS IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR BELONGING TO DIFFERENT POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS. THIS IS ANOTHER POINT OF CONTRAST WITH THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE" WHICH DEALS SOLELY WITH RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES MEMBERS OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL GROUPINGS AND DOES NOT APPLY TO RELATIONS AMONG SOCIALT STATES."

(D) PARA 2.4 -- CHANGE WORDING AFTER THIRD TIC AS FOLLOWS: "TO INSCRIBE AS AN ITEM OF THE CSCE AGENDA THE ELABORATION OF PROPOSALS REGARDING FREER MOVEMENTS AND CONTACTS AND FREER AND WIDER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, AS WELL AS COOPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION."

(E) PARA 3.2, LINE 5 -- ADD FOLLOWING SENTENCE (PROPOSED
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BY NETHERLANDS DEL) AFTER PHRASE "RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS": "THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION MEANS I.E. THAT ALL PEOPLES ALWAYS HAVE THE RIGHT, IN FULL FREEDOM, TO DETERMINE, WHEN AND AS THEY WISH, THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL STATUS WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE. THE PRINCIPLE OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ESTABLISHES THAT RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IS AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR FOR THE PEACE, JUSTICE AND WELL-BEING NECESSARY TO INSURE THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND COOPERATION AMONG STATS." CANADIAN REP SUGGESTED THAT THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE IN THIS PARA BE AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOS: "THE LIST OF FUNDAMENTALS CONTAINS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, I.E. THE DECLARATION THAT PARTICIPATING STATES WILL

REFRAIN FROM ASSULTING FRONTIERS, (REST OF SENTENCE AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED)". THERE WAS ALSO CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 3.2, WITH CANADIAN REP SUGGESTING THAT IT BE CHANGED TO READ "ALL PRINCIPLES SHALL BE APPLIED EQUALLY AND UNRESERVEDLY." CANADIAN REP EXPLAINED HIS GOVERNMENT DOES NOT ACCEPT CONCEPT THAT ALL PRINCIPLES ARE OF EQUAL VALUE. WORKING GROUP DECIDED TO LEAVE A BLANK IN PAPER FOR LAST SENTENCE THIS PARA UNTIL PRECISE TEXT OF LANGUAGE AGREED UPON BY ALL PARTICIPATNS IN GENEVA BECOMES KNOWN.

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(F) AT BELGIAN SUGGESTION, PARA 3.3 NOW READS: " THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN EUROPE ALSO HAS MILITARY ASPECTS. IN THE FRAMEWORK OF CSCE THIS IDEA HAS FOUND AN EXPRESSION IN AN UNDERSTANDING ON CERTAIN CONFIDNECE BUILDING MEASURES SUCH AS THE PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MAJOR MILITARY EXERCISES AND THE EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT SUCH EXERCISES. THESE MEASURES WILL HOPEFULLY ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO GREATER POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING."

(G) SECOND SENTENCE OF PARA 3.6 NOW READS: "FOR THIS REASON, THE CSCE PARTICIPANTS WILL, AFTER AN AGREED PERIOD HAS ELAPSED, MEET AGAIN AT THE LEVEL OF SENIOR OFFICIALS TO ASSESS DEVELOPMENTS AND TO CONSIDER POSSIBLE FURTHER INITIATIVES IN THE FIELD OF MULITLATERAL DETENTE." THIS SENTENCE WILL HAVE A FOOTNOTE STATING THAT ITS FINAL FORMULATION IS CONTINGENT ON WHAT IS AGREED IN GENEVA ABOUT FOLLOW-UP.

(H) PARA 4.6 NOW READS: "FINALLY, AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE CONFERENCE IS THE FACT THAT, AS THE RESULT OF THESE 35 COUNTRIES COMING TOGETHER, THERE HAS BEEN JOINT DISCUSSION OF CERTAIN PROBLEMS NOT PREVIOUSLY DEALT WITH IN INTERNATIONAL FORA. THE CONFERENCE HAS SHOWN THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO FIND OUT

WHERE COMMON SOLUTIONS CAN BE ATTEMPTED. IT ALSO SHOWED WHERE DISAGREEMENTS WILL REMAIN FOR AN UNFORESABLE FUTURE."
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(I) FOLLOWING IS MISSION TRANSLATION OF BELGIAN/FRENCH REDRAFT OF PARA 6: IN THE STATMENTS THAT THEY WILL MAKE TO PUBLIC OPINION ON CSCE, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES COULD DRAW ON THE VARIOUS CONSIDERATIONS SET OUT IN THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPHS. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF IN DOING THIS THEY GIVE PRIORITY INsofar AS POSSIBLE TO THE PARALLEL ('ANALOQUES) INTERPRETATIONS ON WHICH A COMMUNITY OF VIEWS EXISTS AMONG THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ON THE FINAL RESULTS OF CSCE. THE AIM WOULD BE TO REAFFIRM THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THESE POSITIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS, AS THEY HAVE EMERGED IN PRACTICE AMONG WESTERN COUNTRIES, OVER THE YEARS DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS AT HELSINKI AND GENEVA. THE ANNEX TO THE PRESENT DOCUMENT IS INTENDED TO GIVE INDICATIONS ON THIS POINT.

--THE PUBLIC INFORMATION ACTIVITY TO BE UNDERTAKEN COULD USEFULLY BEGIN UPON THE CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE. IT SHOULD BE INTENSIFIED ESPECIALLY DURING THE FINAL STAGE, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE IN THE STATEMENTS THAT ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES WILL MAKE AT THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE. IT WOULD LIKEWISE BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE MEDIA TO BE INFORMED OF THE ALLIED INTERPRETATIONS.

--IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT AFTER THE THIRD STAGE OF CSCE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS BE READY TO PRESENT AND RECALL TO PUBLIC OPINION THE PHILOSOPHY WHICH CONTINUES TO GUIDE THEM IN THEIR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE AS WELL AS IN THEIR EVALUATION OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE RESULTS BY THE OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES."

3. BELGIAN REP SAID HE WISHED TO WITHDRAW BELGIAN PAPER (REF B) FROM CONSIDERATION AS ANNEX TO MERGER PAPER. HE SUGGESTED, AND MEETING AGREED, THAT ANNEX SHOULD BE BASED ON A CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION WHICH WILL BE AVAILABLE EARLY NEXT WEEK.

4. ACTION: REQUEST GUIDANCE ON TEXT OF MERGER PAPER, AS MODIFIED BY CHANGES REPORTED ABOVE, IF POSSIBLE IN TIME FOR NEXT WORKING GROUP MEETING JUNE 24. WE WITHDRAW REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE ON BELGIAN PAPER (REF B).
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